In Epstein S-9 (no date) 1948 MEI Lebanon MEI

DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS OF THE LEBANON

By ELIAHU EPSTEIN

[131] 641 153 THE Lebanese Republic covers an area of about 10,000 sq. k.* The population was last assessed in the Order of the President dated June 17, 1943, as the number of citizens registered in the registration records on December 31, 1942. This Order also referred to a number of Lebanese who had emigrated but had retained their Lebanese citizenship.

[166] The Order in question was published in connection with the elections in the Lebanese Parliament. Although the Moslem communities disagreed with the correctness of the number given, the Order remains the official document pending the holding of a general Census which will determine the figures more precisely.

162 167 The following is the table which served as the foundation for fixing the population of the Lebanon as on January 1, 1943:†

Communities.	*Inhabitants.*	*Emigrants.*	*Total.*
Maronites	318,201	91,276	409,477
Sunni	225,594	4,913	230,507
Shi'ah	200,698	9,367	210,065
Greek Orthodox	106,658	33,655	140,313
Druzes	71,711	4,863	76,574
Greek Catholics	61,956	13,272	75,228
Armenian Orthodox (Gregorians)	58,007	66	58,073
Minorities	41,596	2,159	43,755
Total	1,084,421	159,571	1,243,992

166 The following are the estimated figures for the movement of population in the Lebanon, and the estimated natural increase:‡

Communities.	*1932 Census.*	*End 1943.*	*Difference.*	*Percentage.*
Sunni	179,667	225,594	45,927	31·1
Shi'ah	159,133	200,698	41,565	38·5
Druzes ...	56,297	71,711	15,414	38·0
Maronites ...	269,620	318,201	48,581	18·0
Greek Catholics	55,045	61,956	6,911	12·5
Greek Orthodox	92,991	106,658	13,667	13·0

167 641 161 175 The instructive conclusions which can be drawn from these tables are: (a) Most of the emigrants from the Lebanon and those who continue

* Since the demarcation of the Syro-Lebanese Frontier has not been completed, estimates of the areas of the two States vary. The area of the Autonomous Sanjak of the Lebanon (1860-1915) was 5,700 kilometres and its population was 400,000.

† "La Syrie et l'Orient," Beirut. 22-23, 6, 1943.

‡ *Ibid.* The figures in these tables and the statistical calculations should be accepted with extreme caution on account of the backward methods used for demographical statistics in the Lebanon.

to maintain their Lebanese citizenship abroad are Christians, the overwhelming majority of whom are Maronites.

(c) The natural increase among the non-Christian population of the Lebanon, and particularly of the Shi'ah and the Druze, is more than twice as great as that of the Christian population. These facts can serve as a key to explain various developments, the influence of which may be decisive in shaping the social character and political fate of the Lebanon.

Any person reviewing the demographic problems of the Lebanon cannot but observe a number of factors common to the Christian population of the Lebanon and the Yishuv (the Jewish community) in Palestine. The natural increase of the Christians in the Lebanon is roughly equal to that of the Yishuv in Palestine.*

Against this, however, the Yishuv in Palestine has incomparably more potential reserve in the way of immigration from abroad than that which is available to the Lebanese Christians through the return of emigrants. And just as the chief concern of Zionism in Palestine is the creation of possibilities for the absorption of fresh immigrants from abroad, so the Christians of the Lebanon are faced first and foremost with the problem of preventing emigration from the country, and, in consequence, the creation of opportunities for absorbing emigrants who do return and who can return to their homeland, given suitable absorptive conditions. In addition, attention is devoted to the creation of opportunities for absorbing Christians who require a refuge.

The absence of dynamic economic resources in the Lebanon which could increase and expand the sources of livelihood for a progressive population has led to a steady emigration from the country since the middle of the last century. This process has chiefly affected the Christians whose requirements are more developed and whose living standards are higher than those of their Druze and Moslem neighbours; it has created a serious social and political problem which, taken together with their lower rate of natural increase, places the future of the Lebanese Christians in permanent danger.

Robert Widmer described the economic reasons for a migration from the Lebanon in the following passage:†

> "Lebanon is over-populated. As has been stated, the density of population is about 93 people to a square kilometre. In view of the topography of the country, its rocky mountains and its thin soil, its scarcity of mineral wealth, and its undeveloped industries, the land cannot support all its people. Consequently it is to be expected that some of them have to emigrate, leaving many dependent on their remittances."

As long as emigration was temporary, it was in many ways advantageous. To the general broadening of outlook resulting from contact with more advanced countries were added the material benefits of an increase in the country's capital (brought in by returning emigrants), an addi-

* Fourteen per-mille among the Christians of the Lebanon as against fifteen per-mille among the Jews of Palestine.

† S. Himadeh, *Economic Organization of Syria*, Beirut, 1936, p. 14

3c Syria 1-8 (no date) 1946 MEI Lebanon MEI

for the surplus population, which kept up the standard of living at home, and, most important, the inflow of a considerable volume of remittances. In 1929, for instance, remittances from abroad were estimated at 45 million Palestine pounds, as compared with a total commodity export of 4 million Palestine pounds.*

Although there has been an unceasing stream of migrants returning home alongside the stream of emigration from the Lebanon, the percentage [illegible] before the war except 1932 to 1933, the period of the economic crisis in America, when the number of emigrants declined and the number of persons returning increased. In 1928, for example, prior to the crisis in America, 14,288 persons emigrated from Syria and the Lebanon and 4,407 returned. In 1932, during the American crisis, 2,426 emigrated and 3,198 returned. In 1933 the emigrants increased again to 2,324, while those returning declined to 1,499.†

According to Widney, there emigrated from Syria and the Lebanon 120,000 persons between 1880 and 1900, and 200,000 persons between 1900 and 1914. According to the annual reports of the French Government to the League of Nations, 95,000 people emigrated from Syria and the Lebanon between 1913 and 1930; about half of these came from the Lebanon. It therefore follows, according to these sources, that the total emigration from Syria and the Lebanon between 1880 and 1930 (excluding the period 1914 to 1913) amounted to 415,000.

E. Thoumin has dealt extensively with the problem of emigration from the Lebanon.‡ He is one of the important investigators of this subject and an expert on the demographics of Syria and the Lebanon.

Emigration from the Lebanon began before 1880, largely for political reasons connected with the persecution of the Christians by the Turks and the unsatisfactory state of security in the country. The increasing stream of emigration during the period of economic in the Lebanon derived chiefly from economic sources, as the resources in the country became too restricted for the increase in population under stable political and social conditions.

The first stream of emigration turned to Egypt, where the Lebanese who had been educated in French schools found various opportunities of establishing themselves in Government offices and private institutions, as merchants, journalists, etc. Many of the emigrants established themselves firmly in Egyptian life, and their participation in the cultural field was particularly noticeable. During the '80's and '90's of the last century a steady stream of immigration of Lebanese began to North and South America, and to Western Africa, while some went to Australia. In the course of time important centers of Lebanese emigration were established in the Argentine, Uruguay and Brazil. In the U.S. the chief centers are New York and Chicago.§

* W. B. Fisk, "The Lebanon," *Geographical Review*, New York, April, 1920.
† I. Himadeh, *Economic Organization of Syria*, Beirut, 1936, p. 20.
‡ E. Thoumin, *Géographie Humaine de la Syrie Centrale*, Tunis, 1936.
§ After the first World War there was an increase in the number of Lebanese in Detroit, here they were employed in the Ford Works.

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Thoumin, like other investigators, finds it hard to give exact figures of emigration from Syria and the Lebanon, and therefore chooses to give his estimates in percentages by countries, as follows:

United States and Canada	35 per cent.
South America — —	35 " "
Egypt — — —	10 " "
Other countries — —	20 " "

The emigrants who left Syria and the Lebanon between 1920 and 1930 settled as follows:

South America — —	50 per cent.
Africa (excluding Egypt) —	15 " "
Egypt — — —	10 " "
North America — —	10 " "
Other countries — —	15 " "

If the figures given by Widmer and the Reports to the League of Nations quoted above are adapted to the statistical tables of Thoumin, it follows that about 146,000 Syrian and Lebanese are living in North America, about the same number in South America, and about 41,000 in Egypt. The remaining 83,000 are distributed in the other parts of the world.

Although the students mentioned above have never dealt with the question of Lebanese immigration with the necessary completeness, but mostly regarded it, particularly after the first world war, as part of the general emigration from the area of the French Mandate, nevertheless both Widmer and Thoumin stressed the fact that the Lebanon was and has remained the chief centre of migration for the reasons explained by them, particularly by Thoumin. Dr. A. Ruppin* deals explicitly with the distribution of emigration from Syria and the Lebanon by countries and communities. Basing himself on official figures, Ruppin reaches the conclusion that up to 1915, 100,000 people had emigrated from the Autonomous Sanjak of the Lebanon.

What has been said above makes it possible to conclude with reasonable certainty that the majority of the emigrants from Syria and the Lebanon during the period of emigration came from the area which is now included within the boundaries of the Lebanese Republic.

Professor M. Jerusalem† estimates the total number of emigrants from the Lebanon as 250,000, and reckons that 130,000 to 140,000 were Maronites.

The influence of the emigration from the Lebanon on the population can be learnt from Thoumin, who points out that at least a third of the inhabitants of every Lebanese village have travelled abroad. In his journeys through the Lebanon the author found that in every Christian family he met, at least one member had emigrated during the preceding twenty years. The Lebanese who returned to their home lands are a

* Dr. A. Ruppin, *Syrien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1920, p. 22.
† M. Jerusalem, *The Maronites*, Jerusalem, 1942, p. 24 (typed manuscript).

1: Epstein 8-3 (no date) 1946 MEI Lebanon MEI

The Lebanese who returned to their homelands are a problem on their own, but the paucity of reliable material on the Lebanese Diaspora makes it hard to investigate the subject. Yet the large number of Lebanese emigrants who continue to preserve their citizenship shows not only their affection for their homeland but also suggests their intention of returning there under suitable conditions.

Despite the constant emigration from the Lebanon, this country served as a refuge during the interval between the two wars for Christian emigrants from the neighbouring countries, and in particular for Armenians.* More than 60,000 Armenian refugees from Turkey found refuge in the Lebanon, and despite the economic problems which were raised by the entry of these penniless immigrants, they have added considerably to the Christian strength of the Lebanon, where their fellow-Christians, together with the Mandatory Power, have provided for them in various ways and have facilitated their establishment in the country.

The statistical data on the changes in the composition of the population resulting from its differing natural composition shows clearly the danger awaiting the Christian character of the country. The danger of a Moslem majority, to be sure, primarily affects not Mount Lebanon proper, but the State of Lebanon within its existent political frontiers, where the Moslem population constitute a majority in the towns of Beirut, Tripoli, Tyre and Sidon. But the natural increase of the Druzes and Shi'ah in Mount Lebanon, which is twice, or more, as much as that of the Christians, also raises a serious problem for the latter, even in their chief stronghold. Any free-will relinquishment by the Christians of the present boundaries of the Lebanese Republic, and their return to the boundaries of their period of autonomy between 1861 and 1915, would not serve to solve the main problem of preserving the Christian character of their country for any length of time.

This situation faces the Lebanese Christians with a number of grave and urgent problems which require solution in the economic field: the creation of conditions that will first and foremost prevent emigration, which chiefly affects the Christian population and systematically reduces their numbers in the country; and, in addition, the development of possibilities for absorbing returning emigrants and Christian immigrants from the neighbouring countries. In any case of organized population transfer in this part of the world for the sake of territorial concentration in accordance with common religious and communal character, the Lebanon would be more suitable than any other Middle Eastern region for serving as a centre for the Christians.

* Most of these are Orthodox (Gregorians). The Catholics and Protestants among them are included under "minorities" in the tables given above.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

562 462 riage. The most popular occupation, nursing, is, it will be remembered, preferred because it is "safe," among other reasons.

Perhaps it can be said, as Fei concluded from a somewhat analogous situation in China (1939, p. 234), that women have more social individualism than they used to have, but to argue that the status of women has or has not been "improved" would, in the present writer's opinion, be tilting at windmills. Ambiguity of one's status and role in life can be harder to bear than, for example, the lack of the legal right to vote.

EMIGRANTS AND EMIGRATION

167 It is said that there are now as many Lebanese, or persons of Lebanese ancestry, living outside Lebanon as there are inside it (about 1,300,000). However this may be, there are certainly a great many, and the majority are in the United States.

Himadeh (1936, p. 13) points out that emigration from Lebanon started with the Phoenicians, the first Lebanese of whom anything is known, then as now experts in commercial enterprises. Lowdermilk (1944, p. 416) suggests that the primary impetus to the Phoenicians' emigration was the same as that to the twentieth century movement: overpopulation—ninety-three persons per square kilometer in recent times (Himadeh, 1936, p. 14).

It is estimated that between 1860 and 1900, 120,000 persons left Syria and Lebanon. The climax period was between 1900 and 1914 when an estimated 15,000 per year emigrated (Himadeh, 1936, p. 16). There was virtually none during the war when the country was blockaded. The process was resumed after the war, but with less intensity than before. Mass emigration to the United States was effectively halted by the Immigration Act of 1924. Since then, the Lebanese have gone to Central and South America, West Africa, and Australia.

The original purpose of all the emigrants was to make a good amount of money and then return to the old country. A great many did just this, and in Munṣif some cases were reported of men who came and went several times. The [58] majority, however, remained for good in the new country, most never returning, although quite a few came back temporarily to the old village for brides—telling evidence of the force of the principle of local endogamy. A few such cases occurred in Munṣif but none since the 1920's.

[17] It is the writer's private opinion that the emigrants themselves have not contributed a great deal to the process of acculturation in Lebanon, apart from drawing the interest of the stay-at-homes beyond their immediate locality. However, the [45] emigrants have contributed substantially to the welfare of the old country which, in 1938 for example, had an adverse foreign trade balance of 4,000,000 pounds sterling (Hourani, 1946, p. 90). This was off-set by money from tourists, foreign investments, and remittances from emigrants. The last amounted to $19,000,000. in 1924 (Himadeh, 1936, p. 18).

The people of Munṣif have done their share in the process of emigration.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

"There are as many of us there as there are here," it was said. Material evidence of the consequences of emigration have already been observed in the tile-roof houses and the fifty-odd ruined houses in the village.

In terms of reduction of potential population, the following facts should be noted: (1) In Maximal Lineage B, now so small, there were, before emigration, six minimal lineages. Four of these, referred to later as "deceased" lineages, have completely disappeared through emigration. There is one similar case in Maximal Lineage C. (2) Table 7 indicates the number of permanent and long-standing

TABLE 7. PERMANENT EMIGRANTS, MOSTLY SIBLINGS OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD

	MEN		WOMEN			MEN		WOMEN	
LINEAGE	Alive	Dead	Alive	Dead	LINEAGE	Alive	Dead	Alive	Dead
I	—	—	—	—	XIII	1	—	—	—
II	—	—	—	—	XIV	1	—	—	—
III	3	—	4	—	XV	1	—	1	—
IV	1	—	2	—	XVI	6	2	3	—
V	4	—	1	—	XVII	—	1	—	1
VI	2	—	1	—	XVIII	—	—	—	—
VII	2	—	—	—	XIX	2	2	—	—
VIII	6	2	1	—	XX	—	—	2	—
IX	—	—	—	—	XXI	4	1	1	—
X	8	2	1	—	AF	—	1	2	—
XI	5	—	3	—		—	—	—	—
XII	2	—	1	1	Total	48	11	23	2

emigrants, eighty-four in all, who were recorded. These are merely a sample, selected because they were or are siblings of present heads of households, of the total number who emigrated. Of them thirty-eight departed between 1890 and 1914, sixteen between 1919 and 1926. No one in the village pretends that these people have not gone for good. In this respect, they are rather distinct from the eleven "emigrants" noted in Tables 1 and 2. The latter are nearly all young adults who have left recently (all for Australia). Of them it cannot be stated whether their emigration will be permanent or not.

As far as was learned, five of the present heads of households are returned emigrants, in addition to at least two women of substantial status. The heads of households appear to have re-entered the life of the village without introducing many changes in its culture.

It was not determined to what extent remittances from emigrants contribute to the present income of the village as a whole. Specific examples of it indicated that the process still continues, but various remarks suggested that it is on the decrease.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

"The Americans" as the villagers call their relatives in the United States, are concentrated in and around Vicksburg, Mississippi. There are families, also, in Shreveport, Louisiana, and in Marshall, Texas. There are a few in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Australia. One returnee, in particular, spoke English with a noticeable Southern accent. The remarks of another returnee indicated an identification with the Southern whites as a caste as against the Negroes.

LAND OWNERSHIP, UNEMPLOYMENT, RETIREMENT

Manṣur Jurjis al-Khuuri, the founder of the village, divided the village territory into three equal sections, one for each of his sons. He did this by, as it were, trisecting the triangle at its apex (the eastern extremity of the village, now occupied by the houses). The three triangular strips running down to the sea which were thus created provided the land-property bases for the maximal lineages. To some extent, the ownership pattern of the houses still reflects this division, with Maximal Lineage B concentrated in the north, C in the south, and A in between (see Fig. 5). The corresponding pattern for the village territory as a whole, however, has long since been obliterated by sales and extra-maximal lineage inheritance. The land-holdings are not clustered by minimal lineage either. Most of the land in the village is held in individual private ownership (*mulk*), and nearly all the adult males own property in this manner. Along the shore there are some plots which are *mashā'a* (communal) land to the maximal lineages. "They were never divided because they are worthless; the salt kills the plants." There are four large sections of *waqf* (land which has been put in trust). These will be discussed in the next chapter.

From what has been said before in this chapter, it can be deduced that most of the men do not derive all or even most of their income from the land they own. However as far as could be determined, each landowner, even though he may be a white-collar worker in the city, maintains his plots (*qaṭ'a*), which are usually widely scattered over the village territory, with the assistance of a resident farmer or village worker.

Many of those of whom it was said "he does nothing" (unemployed) or "he no longer works" (retired) actually derive some income by this means, but probably very few in the village could entirely support themselves and their families without money from other sources as well. The young unemployed, as has been mentioned, are from a superficial perspective difficult to distinguish from village workers if they are unmarried and living with members of their family. There are a few cases of heads of households who clearly depend on the help of other members of the family in supporting it. We can say that a man has retired when he does nothing and when no hopes of employment are held. A large number of the men in their sixties and all those over seventy were in this class. Nevertheless, most of these retired men continued to putter about their terraces, pretty actively in some cases.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

counter adults who had been to Beirut or Tripoli not more than once or twice in their entire lives. As another informant said, "Everyone was *fillaḥ*"—meaning, in effect, that everyone was either a farmer or had some part-time or full-time specialty which was directly concerned with rural subsistence. One person guessed that at any given time no more than ten men, and no women, in the village could read and write.

As the population of the village increased and the generations passed, the three original lineages became segmented into sub-lineages. This was evidently a gradual process; the three original lineages did not all become completely subdivided at the same time. Eventually, the three original lineages lost nearly all their significance as in-groups since this function had been taken over by the new, smaller lineages. It has been noted before that while the name of the original lineage now identified as Maximal Lineage A is no longer used by any of the minimal lineages derived from it, the names of Maximal Lineages B and C are preserved as names of two minimal lineages. It may be that a more accurate view of this matter, of which the villagers were aware but could not explain, is as follows: The kin group now identifiable as A became completely subdivided into smaller lineages, and its name was thus obliterated. B and C, however, were never completely subdivided, possibly because of their smaller size. Thus, although several new lineages did develop from or split off from the original B and C, remnants of these latter continued on, retaining the original name. This interpretation, if valid, might explain why Minimal Lineages XII and XVI, which bear the names of B and C, show a greater diversity of patrilines than their fellow minimal lineages. In the view of the Munṣifiin in 1952, however, lineages XII and XVI are regarded in no different light from the other *'ayli*.

At some time around 1880 the outside world began to force itself upon the circumscribed life of the village, in not one way, but several ways. First, American Protestant missionaries brought mass education, with its prospects of prestigeful and possibly lucrative employment, within reach of everyone in the village. Then, America became known as the land where one could go for a few years to work, make more money than one could possibly earn in the village, and then return to the village to live an easier, more comfortable life. Emigration, at first and for a long time conceived of only as a temporary expedient, began about 1890. And, finally, Western manufactured articles began to be imported.

By 1914 profound changes had been wrought in the village. Many of its members had gone to America, some of them never to return. A decline in the price of silk had led many to replace their mulberries with olives, but the financial loss in this respect was overbalanced by the financial gain of money made in America, or sent from America. While the houses of the emigrants stood empty and began to fall into ruins, more and more new houses, with tile roofs glowing proudly in the sun, were being built. Native villagers had taken over the school founded by the missionaries, and others had established their own. Literacy and

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
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knowledge of English were becoming commonplace. The village school had become a primary agent of culture change in marked contrast to the situation recently observed in Tangier (cf. Schorger, 1952b, p. 254). With widened horizons and increased financial means, a demand for Western material goods, particularly household furnishings and clothes, was created and satisfied, as far as possible, by the villagers.

The first World War brought an abrupt and temporarily devastating halt to this process of change. Lebanon, though a province of the Turkish Empire, was blockaded by the Turks because of the well-known Allied sympathies of many of its people. During the blockade, both emigration and emigrants' remittances were stopped and many segments of the rural population, including Munṣif, were reduced to near starvation. (See Hourani, 1946, especially pp. 33–49, for a general review of this period.)

When the war ended, the Munṣifiin could neither turn back the clock nor could they quite pick up where they had been forced to leave off in 1914. Silk production never regained its former pre-eminence. Emigration resumed, but in 1924 emigration to the United States was virtually ended. Emigration to other parts of the world correspondingly increased, but never on the same scale as it had been to the United States.

Meanwhile, the French had assumed the League of Nations Mandate over Lebanon (and Syria) and had embarked upon a program of modernization of the country, a policy which was exactly the opposite of their attempts in Morocco at preventing acculturation (cf. Coon, 1949, p. 451). The French established in Lebanon a constitutional form of government which strongly resembled their own, and it included a public school system also modeled on their own. One of the chief purposes of these activities was to disseminate specifically French culture. This was not particularly appreciated by many of the sect groups in the country.

The French were responsible, in another line of endeavor, for the building of a system of paved highways, and the beginning of a network of telephone lines, of airports, and of rural electrification in a few districts. The establishment of rapid communication and transportation systems created a profound change in the entire country. In Munṣif, as in many other villages where economic problems had become acute, the change consisted of the beginning of an intensified drift of villagers to the cities to earn their livelihood. Life in the cities tended to make the villagers more aware than before of foreign artifacts and values and to elevate their notion of what constituted an adequate standard of living (see Bonne, 1948, especially pp. 271–72). For the first time, villagers now had the opportunity of meeting and interacting with outsiders on a large scale, and village exogamy, a rarity before, began to become rather frequent (see Patai, 1947, especially p. 15, for an itemization of the types of change which have occurred in Palestine, but also Lebanon).

457 priate sections. Most of the difficulties in this connection has arisen from the lack of adequate information. Thus there are in Lebanon about 20,000 foreigners, and for many of them it has been impossible to ascertain whether or not they should be considered as 'residents'. Again, many Lebanese nationals live and work in neighbouring countries without being registered as permanent residents there. According to the adopted criterion, their expenditure on a trip to Lebanon should be entered as a credit; there has been no way, however, of isolating that item.

I. Receipts from foreign travel

Receipts from foreign travel (i.e., its credit side) have been divided into the following categories (1) summer resorting, (2) schools, (3) hospitals and (4) tourism, including business.

(1) **Summer resorting.** In most countries, summer resorting (or *estivage*) is part of general tourism, and earnings from it are not isolated. In Lebanon, such an isolation was deemed necessary, for the following reasons:-

529 i) *Estivage* in Lebanon is a clearly defined and separate industry and is so recognized by the Government. It is generally taken to mean the spending of the summer months in the fifty-odd mountain resorts which dot the Lebanese landscape. Although most of these resorts are inhabitated all year round, their population swells up as much as ten to fifteen times during July, August and September of every year. Some resorts are even completely abandoned during the winter months and come to life only in the hot season. During this season, all residential houses and often times schools and other institutions are rented out to the incoming *estiveurs*. Most of the *estiveurs* are from the Lebanese coastal cities, but quite a substantial number come from the neighbouring countries in the Middle East. The Lebanese Government (through its Commissariat of Tourism) is known to have always been anxious to promote *estivage* and to attract as many foreigners as possible during the summer season. In 1951 and 1952 for example, it stood ready to pay part or all of the return passage of all

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8:Fei and Klat S-4 (1951-52)1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

of the sample figures on the basis of the number of villages in each district would indicate emigrants' remittances of LL. 53.4 million in 1951 and LL. 66.7 million in 1952. To this should be added remittances received in the cities. For an estimate of these, the figures obtained for Beirut have been doubled on the assumption that all the other cities get an amount equal to Beirut's. Thus emigrants' remittances would be roughly LL. 58.4 million in 1951 and LL. 71.7 million in 1952.[1] The relatively large increase between the two years must be attributed to the emergence of a new type of remittors. In the past most emigrants went to the Americas and, whenever they could afford it, sent back home little sums for the upkeep of their parents and immediate family. Since the end of the war, the Lebanese are emigrating more and more to the neighbouring Arab countries; from there where they intend to stay only temporarily they send, not only assistance money to their relatives, but all they can save. In other words, in the 1952 figure of remittances there is a good deal of concealed capital import.

6. To check on these figures, it was thought advisable to ask the major banks to supply any information they could regarding foreign transfers which might be regarded as remittances. All but three declined to answer, mainly on the ground that in their normal business they do not usually try to identify remittances. The three banks that answered reported annual remittances of about LL. 2.5 million. An extension of this figure to cover the existing 50-odd banks, would indicate total money remittances of about LL. 42 million.[2] If assistance in kind (which is estimated at one-fifth of the money remittances) were added, total remittances would be around LL. 50 million. This figure is lower than those given above; the latter are, however, probably more correct as some remittances are made in cash through intermediaries and not by check through banks. It is re-

1 It is realised that this method of computation is highly arbitrary. Under the circumstances, however, as no extensive study of the problem was possible because of the time it would have required, this method was the best available. It is hoped that a sample survey of villages would soon be undertaken which would make possible a better estimation of remittances in future years.

2 It should be noted here that small banks may be as important as the large ones for cashing foreign checks; one of the small banks reported that discounted checks representing remittances amounted to about one half its total business.

10:Tannous G, S-5 (no date) 1942
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Emigration, A Force of Social Change In An Arab Village

*By Afif I. Tannous**

ABSTRACT

167 Between 1700 and 1890, Bishmizzeen, on the northern slopes of Lebanon, developed into an independent village community, with a population of 1200. 178 Thereafter, the available land could not support any further increase, and, despite a high rate of natural increase, the population remained stationary. Pressure was relieved through intensive emigration. Three other factors seem to have contributed to this emigration trend: (1) The advent into the locality of "cash" as a prestige bearing value. (2) The influence of the American Protestant Mission. (3) Escape from cultural control. Between 1885 and 1939, about 487 people emigrated to foreign countries (mostly North and South America) and 23 to other localities within the country. As a result of this intensive emigration trend the village cultural organization was severely shaken, as evidenced by the following observed facts: (1) Social control broke down. (2) New social institutions arose. (3) Cash became a supreme value. (4) The village woman attained economic independence. (5) The kinship status relationships were disrupted.

Entre 1700 y 1890, Bishmizzeen, en las colinas del norte de Lebanon, se desarrolló en un pueblo independiente, con una poblacion de 1200. Desde entonces, la única tierra arable que había, no podía soportar mayores aumentos y a pesar de más que la norma de aumento natural la población permaneció estacionaria. Se minimó la presión por medio de una emigración intensa. Hay tres factores que parecen haber contribuído más a esta tendencia de emigración: (1) La llegada del dinero a la localidad como señal de prestigio. (2) La influencia de la misión protestante americana. (3) El escapamiento del control cultural. Entre 1885 y 1939, cerca de 487 personas se emigraron a países estranjeros (mayormento a las Americas) y 23 a otras localidades dentro del país. Como resultado de esta intensa tendencia a la emigración, la organización cultural del pueblo se dislocó seriamente, como la prueban las siguientes hechas observadas: (1) El control social se deshizo. (2) Nuevas instituciones sociales nacieron. (3) El dinero asumió un valor supremo. (4) Las mujeres del pueblo obtuvieron independencia económica. (5) Las relaciones del parentesco se alteraron.

10:Tannous G,S-5 (no date) 1942.
ME1 Lebanon ME1

311 Meantime, the village
• 167 soil began to show signs of depletion. It could no longer give the same produce as when it was virgin soil; and the old methods of agriculture were not capable of rehabilitating the soil to the desired extent. This further disturbed the land-population balance and made the problem seem more acute. Emigration seemed to be the only solution.

163 165 The following table (I) of births and deaths for a period of 40 years is a fair indication of the rate at

TABLE I. NUMBER OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS IN THE VILLAGE OF BISHMIZZEEN, NORTH LEBANON, 1870-1909

Period	Births	Deaths	Excess of births over deaths
1870-1874	108	27	81
1875-1879	94	40	54
1880-1884	72	34	38
1885-1889	95	44	51
1890-1894	118	32	86
1895-1899	123	34	89
1900-1904	184	40	144
1905-1909	178	45	133
TOTAL	972	296	676

which the village population was growing. The period covered is 1870-1909. The increase due to immigration may be neglected since only a few families came to settle in the village after 1870. It must be admitted that the writer cannot affirm the perfect accuracy of the table. It was calculated from the village church records and verified, as far as their memories permitted, by some of the village elders. The table shows a very high increase of births over deaths for that period—about 3.3 times.[2]

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[2] This means an average natural increase of about 12 per 1000 population for the period 1870-1909. Compare this rate with the following rates (1908-12): Austria,

The lure of cash: At the beginning 167 ●
of this period under consideration (1890-1939) cash was becoming more and more significant in value—as a new form of prestige and as a means for the satisfaction of newly arising needs. People became conscious of it and began to search for ways of getting hold of it. America supplied the best answer for the new quest. Stories about that wonderful new country, where gold could be had for the asking, reached the village and stirred the imagination of a few adventurous souls. They sailed away, they sent gold back and then returned home with more gold. The ball started rolling, gathering size and momentum during the past fifty years.

Influence of the American Mission: 167
When the missionaries began their 797
activities in Bishmizzeen and other villages, they had no idea that, in the course of time, their message was going to enhance the emigration movement of the area. They taught the people English, thus making it easier for them to enter the U. S. A. and get hold of its coveted gold. Through the school curriculum and their religious message, they offered the people the elements of a new culture and led them to identify themselves with it. That identification gave additional impetus to the emigration movement. The following extracts from the early mission reports will serve to throw further light upon the emigration movement.

P.65(A) "In the centennial year of 1876, 167
Syria discovered America. Since that time, reports of the wealth and gen-

167 eral gullibility of the American people have been spread through the Maronite region of the Lebanon. In some districts, the excitement may be compared to the gold rush fever period of California and Australia. . . ."

"The American fever has touched us at a few points. In the spring, our teachers at Anfeh and Batroon resigned. After some delay, one of them went to America. The other wished to go, but discovered he could not do so. The leading member of the church . . . also went to America, having shared his cash possessions of 70 "Liras" (gold pound) with his wife, leaving her 3 and taking the rest with him. . . ."[3]

626 167 *Escape from cultural control:* It is obvious that every culture, in order to maintain its specific organization, has to establish and exercise a certain degree of social control over the behavior of the group members. It seems that, no matter how harmoniously integrated that organization may be, as long as social control exists, some of the individuals concerned have to suffer from a certain degree of frustration. This seems to be the inevitable price any cultural group has to pay for the attainment of group solidarity and continuity.

In the case of Bishmizzeen, social control has never assumed an extreme character, and individual frustration has never been an acute problem. Before the American World (the world of free individualism) was discovered by Bishmizzeen, those frus-

R 65 (B)

[3]Reports of the American Presbyterian Mission, Beirut, Lebanon, 1884 and 1889.

L26 trated individuals had to face the
• 167 issue and put up with the stringent situation, in accordance with the dictates of the village culture. When America was "discovered," an outlet, an escape was provided, and many a frustrated individual took up the newly offered chance.

Extent of Emigration

167 *Emigration to foreign countries:*
494 Prior to 1880, not a single individual had ever emigrated from the village to the outside, either within the country or to a foreign country. Bishmizzeen constituted the world of the village group. Even mobility was highly restricted. Visits to neighboring villages were very infrequent. A few used to take occasional trips to the town of Tripoli, and still a fewer number had been to Beirut. Occasionally some adventurous souls would take a pilgrimage to Jerusalem or a cattle trading trip to Egypt. One of the old village songs, aiming at the praise of a husband's valor, begins with the following line: "Your husband, oh beautiful one, has gone to Damascus and come back, alone." Damascus is about 100 miles from Bishmizzeen.

167 In 1884 the first young man from Bishmizzeen emigrated to a foreign country. Others followed, and the number increased, year after year, first to the U. S. A., then to the four corners of the world. The following table (III) shows the geographical distribution of the Bishmizzeen emigrants.

P.66 (A)

167 TABLE III. NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS FROM THE VILLAGE OF BISHMIZZEEN, NORTH LEBANON, TO VARIOUS COUNTRIES, 1880-1939

Country	Number of emigrants
U. S. A.	198
Argentina	125
Australia	54
Brazil	43
Mexico	13
Jamaica	10
Egypt	7
West Africa	7
Paraguay	5
Dominicana	5
Iraq	3
Canada	2
Panama	2
Other	9
TOTAL	487

The following table (IV) shows the trend of emigration from Bishmizzeen to various foreign countries by periods of five years each.

TABLE IV. THE TREND OF EMIGRATION FROM THE VILLAGE OF BISHMIZZEEN, NORTH LEBANON, TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES, BETWEEN 1884 AND 1939 (AVERAGE TOTAL VILLAGE POPULATION FOR THE PERIOD, ABOUT 1270)

	NUMBER		
Period	Male	Female	Total
1700-1880			
1880-1884	1	..	1
1885-1889	6	..	6
1890-1894	9	4	13
1895-1899	23	15	38
1900-1904	49	18	67
1905-1909	45	23	68
1910-1914	38	27	65
1915-1919	8	5	13
1920-1924	58	45	103
1925-1929	37	40	77
1930-1934	8	11	19
1935-1939	12	5	17
TOTAL	294	193	487

It will be observed that for the first ten or fifteen years, emigration moved slowly. The people were not yet sure of the fruits of emigration. After that initial period of hesitation, a rapid increase in the number of emi-

p66 (B)

grants began to take place. During the period 1915-1919, a sharp drop occurred, due to the restrictions of the first World War. A similar drop occurred again during the period 1930-1934, and continued through the last period 1935-1939. The two causes responsible for this last drop were the world depression of 1929 (which led foreign countries to restrict immigration) and the appearance of a new trend of emigration—from the village to other parts of the country—as will be discussed below.

Emigration to other parts of the country: Emigration within the country may be divided into two distinct types—permanent and temporary. The former covers those cases when the emigrants made their permanent residence in other parts of the country. The following table (V) indicates

TABLE V. EMIGRATION FROM THE VILLAGE OF BISHMIZZEEN, NORTH LEBANON TO OTHER PLACES WITHIN THE COUNTRY, 1890-1939 (AVERAGE TOTAL VILLAGE POPULATION FOR THE PERIOD ABOUT 1270)

Year	NUMBER		
	Male	Female	Total
1890	1	1	2
1925	1	1	2
1929	1	1	2
1933	2	6	8
1935	5	4	9
TOTAL	10	13	23

to what extent this type of emigration took place. (It must be pointed out that the figures of this and the previous table include only those emigrants who were born or established in the village and who migrated from it. The figures do not include those who were born and grew up in the adopted countries.)

to lead to the following general conclusions concerning the influence of emigration upon the social organization of the village:

1. *Social control breaks down:* The influence of emigration, as a convenient escape from social control, has been discussed above. It is mentioned again, with a view to emphasizing its significance. At first, social control with its inevitable individual frustrations—was a factor in the enhancement of the emigration movement. However, once that step was taken, emigration began to react upon the social organization of the village and became a strong factor in the breakdown of its social control. The church and the kinship patterns of behavior were no longer adequate for the control of the elements in the new situation. A state of disorganization was the result.

2. *Rise of the village post office as an institution:* Prior to the emigration movement, no regular post office existed in the village, and the people were not conscious of that institution in any significant manner. There was no need for it, as very few letters were received every month or so. With the advent of emigration, the situation was completely changed. Letters exchanged between the village and abroad became very frequent and highly significant. Through those letters, the ties between the emigrants and the folks at home were preserved and the flow of cash money into the village took place. Two concepts became highly significant in the people's vocabulary, as a result of

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that flow of correspondence, "Maktoob" (letter) and "Maktoob Musowker" (registered letter). A check was always contained in the registered letter, and it became the symbol of joy and festivities for the family group.

Once or twice a week, the mail came to the village. Many hours before the arrival of the mail, people would assemble in the barber shop of Uncle Deeb (for he became the uncle of everybody) who was responsible for the distribution of the mail. For hours, before and after mail distribution, people would loiter there, exchanging the news of their emigrants and having a social time. Usually, Uncle Deeb preferred to put the registered letters aside and then give them in person to the families concerned. That was his reward—to be a messenger of joy to the people. As he went around, he spread the news of the registered letters far and wide, until everybody began to talk about them.

3. *Cash money becomes a supreme value in village life:* Through the silk industry, foreign missions and contact with the city, cash money, as a highly desirable article of value, was introduced into the village organization. In order to obtain more of this new value, emigrants were lured abroad. Through hard or easy work, straight or crooked means, they got hold of the precious cash and sent it back to their people. Without any exception, every single one of those letters mentioned above, referred to cash money that had been sent, was

167 426 459 178 sent or would be sent to the folks at home. Sending the money home had a double significance to the emigrants. It gave them the satisfaction of living up to the obligation to the kinship group and it built for them prestige in the home village. At the same time, prestige and the satisfaction of luxurious needs were the reward of those who received the checks. They could buy new things with the money, lend it for interest or acquire more land with it.

In a word, emigration was the last step with which the village plunged into the Western economic system and became highly "money conscious." Some fifteen years ago, one of the upstart leaders in Bishmizzeen was reminded of the fact that the business he was conducting in Tripoli and Beirut was not considered as honest by the village folks. His answer was "Once I have a substantial amount of cash in my pocket, the people will forget all about the means by which I got the cash."

167 624 4. *Emigrants fail to return to the village:* At first, emigrants left the village, with a view to earning a certain amount of cash within a few years, and then returning to live in the village. The kinship and the communities ties were still strong, and the early emigrants considered the village as their true home. Some of those early emigrants, about 21, succeeded in carrying through the original intention—they came back and settled down permanently. The majority of those who returned, about 93, could not stay in the village more

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167 621 than a few months, a year or a few years, before emigrating again. Their business ties and the new ways of living they had adopted forced them to emigrate again. They began to realize that they had become partly strangers to their original culture.

The great majority of the emigrants, 373, never came back. These may be divided roughly into two classes—those who failed to come back because of their financial failure abroad, and those who emigrated fairly recently after the community ties began to break down. The latter did not feel especially attracted toward the village.

[581] Of those who came back to visit, a great many of them did so with a view to getting married to village girls, before settling permanently abroad.

5. *The village woman attains economic independence:* Cases 10 and 12 of the above quoted letter extracts are clear illustrations of the new tendency. Among the 193 women, who have emigrated, about one-half took that step independently. Some of them were single, some were widows and some left their husbands and children at home. Prior to emigration, village culture assigned to woman a status subordinate to that of man. It seems that farm economy demanded that type of subordination. Emigration by women severely tested that established pattern of behavior. Through emigration, the village woman was suddenly thrown on her own resources. She moved from a status of subordination to one of dominance. She became the economic

167 621 562

P 72 (A)

head of the family, and her cash gave her prestige.

In this respect, the silk industry, the education movement, and emigration were equally influential. They brought about what may be called the "emancipation" of woman. However, it must be clearly stated that that emancipation brought in its wake a great deal of cultural conflict and social disorganization. Until now, people in the village are still confused about how to define a situation in which a woman is involved. Should they define it in terms of the old patterns of behavior, or in terms of the new economic prestige attained by woman? Can S. M. John ask his wife (who earned the money in America and who holds the property in her name) to do something for him, or must he obey her orders? Should the children of C. W. Dusk look up to their father as the head of the family, or to their mother who sends them the cash from abroad?

6. *The parent-child status relationship is broken down:* Not only did the man-woman status relationship undergo a change but also that of the parent and child. Most of those who emigrated were young men, who had always played the role of dependents, subject to the authority of the parent or grandparent. Emigration put these young people on their own, when they had to face new situations as independent individuals. At the same time, they earned that coveted cash and sent it home. The symbol of economic prestige began to shift from the land to cash. With that, a corre-

p.7-2(6)

Household Head

5.3 Birthplace of head of household, Table 34

166 The schedule included various items which were designed to give some insight into family mobility both over and inter-state. The question on birthplace of the head of the household revealed that sixty-nine percent of our sample were born in Lebanon. (For purposes of the survey, urban Lebanon was defined as Beirut, Tripoli, Sidon, Zahleh, Baalbeck, Tyre and Abey. All others were considered rural.) The great majority of the remainder came from Syria (17%), Palestine (3%) and Turkey (12%). Since interviewers were instructed to fill in the question to present political units, it is noteworthy that the Turkish figure contains almost entirely of Armenians as can be seen by comparison with the Languages Spoken table.* Only about three percent are from western countries.

5.13 Citizenship of head of household, Table 33

162 167 The permanency of residents is complicated by the fact that only eighty-four percent claim to be citizens of the Republic. This is particularly interesting as Lebanon is almost always thought of as a country which sends out emigrants rather than receives them.

Birthplace of Household Members Other than Male Head

5.23 Birthplace of father and mother of head of household, Tables 36, 37

166 The birthplace of fathers of the heads of

* See Table 29 & 41

p. 12(1)

166 households shows a similar pattern of origin with a comparatively larger percentage coming from urban Lebanon. These figures, so far, remain unexplained as do figures indicating that thirty-seven percent of the sample claim mothers' origin in urban Lebanon as compared to thirty percent in rural regions. The trend to the city is there, but it does not seem to be solely a one way process. As in the case of mothers and fathers of heads of households so in heads of households and their spouses. A larger percentage of women seem to be city originated.

3.22 **Children and grandchildren of head of household, Tables 58, 59**

As might be expected, the percentage of native born Lebanese among the children is considerably higher than for the heads of households and their parents. Among grandchildren the native born figure includes over nine-tenths of the group. Similarly, there is a trend toward urban birth among the children which reaches its peak among grandchildren. A detailed breakdown of the children of the heads of households is shown in the table.

3.23 **Female head of household or wife of household head, Table 60**

166 167 About the same percent of women as men are Lebanese by birth and approximately the same numbers are urban or rural in origin, the women being slightly more urban. The differences is not statistically significant. Similar proportions hold for origin in other Arab countries and in Turkey. These figures are for women

12: Churchill 8-5 (1952) 1954 MEI Lebanon MET

146 147 heads of households and wives of household heads.

5.24 **Other members of household. Tables 61, 62, 63, 64, 65**

The birthplaces of other members of the household show no significant difference from the figures for the heads of households except where the sample is inadequate for accurate analysis. The tables are included for father-in-law, mother-in-law, siblings, other family members, and servants.

5.3 **Number of children away from home. Table 66**

146 The number of children away from home is rather small with less than one quarter of the sample so reporting. Since no qualification as to age was made, these are presumably children who have moved away for occupational reasons or have married and left the family.

5.41 **Length of time at present address. Table 67**

591 427 For an urban area, the length of time at which our sample households have resided at their present addresses is rather surprising. About forty-three percent of the sample have not moved for more than ten years. It is believed that the reason for this lack of mobility is the Rent Control Law. This law has been in operation for thirteen years (Dec. 28, 1940) and may have kept people relatively immobile. The Rent Control Law does not allow the raising of rents for a tenant already in residence, but does allow an increase for new tenants. Subsequent rent control laws have also had considerable influence. An indication that this is the proper hypothesis lies in the fact that our next biggest group lies in the interval of those who have been at the same address between one and three years. If it were disinclination to move rather than the Rent Control Law it would appear that the least frequency would have been in the category of less than one year with increasing frequencies as the time lengthened. Once having lost the benefits of rent control, the population of Beirut seems to be fairly mobile.

p. 13 (A)

5.42 **Previous location of household, Table 68**

591 The largest frequency of locations of previous households is in Beirut with over eighty-one percent of our sample so reporting. The belief that a large part of Beirut citizens have come from rural areas to the city fairly recently does not seem to hold true, with only approximately eight percent of the sample in this category. A good part of the five and eight-tenths percent of the sample from other Arab states probably are accounted for by refugees from Palestine.

● [167]

5.43 **Length of time at previous address, Table 69**

Here again the largest group, thirty-two percent were in residence at their previous addresses for more than ten years and the second highest incidence is between one and three years. The no answer category refers to those who had no previous address as well as those who were unable to recall.

5.44 **Number of times moved in last ten years, Table 70**

Forty-four percent of the sample had not moved at all in the last ten years, which conforms with the roughly forty-three percent who claim to have been in residence in their present household for more than ten years. These comparative figures constitute one of our checks for internal consistency. Of those who had moved, our largest frequency, twenty-eight percent, reported that they had moved only once, while our most mobile group, those who had moved more than six times in the past ten years, constitute slightly over one percent.

5.5 **Reasons for moving to Beirut, Table 71**

166 Of those who had moved to Beirut, the largest group (61 %), had moved for economic reasons, while the second largest category (22 %) moved for political reasons. The two together constituted eighty-three percent. The respondents were asked what their reasons for moving to Beirut were. Their free responses

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Table 54
Birthplace of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1933	100.00	
Urban Lebanon	511	26.43	.010
Rural Lebanon	828	42.85	.011
Syria	144	7.45	.008
Palestine	96	4.97	.005
Iraq	11	0.57	
Jordan	1	0.05	
Turkey	232	12.00	.008
Iran	3	0.16	
Egypt	17	0.88	
England	6	0.31	
U.S.A.	17	0.88	
France	15	0.78	
Other Europe	21	1.09	
Other Africa	8	0.41	
Other Asia	11	0.57	
South America	7	0.36	
Other	5	0.26	

Table 55
Citizenship of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1920	100.00	
Lebanon	1610	83.86	.008
Syria	111	5.78	.005
Palestine	87	4.53	.005
Iraq	6	0.31	
Jordan	3	0.16	
Turkey	9	0.47	
Iran	7	0.36	
Egypt	13	0.68	
England	5	0.26	
U.S.A.	12	0.62	
France	23	1.20	
Other Europe	19	0.99	
Other Africa	3	0.16	
Other Asia	7	0.36	
South America	2	0.10	
Other	3	0.16	

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13: Churchill S-5 (1958) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

Table 59

Birthplace of Grandchildren of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	212	100.00	
Rural Lebanon	5	4.40	
Urban Lebanon	191	86.80	.023
Other Arab State	10	4.40	
Europe	1	1.10	
South America	—	—	
U.S.A.	—	—	
Turkey	1	1.10	
Other	4	2.20	

Table 60

Birthplace of Female Head of Household and Wife of Household Head

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1682	100.00	
Rural Lebanon	407	24.20	.010
Urban Lebanon	749	44.53	.012
Other Arab State	236	14.03	.008
Europe	50	2.97	.004
South America	15	0.89	
U.S.A.	13	0.77	
Turkey	196	11.65	.008
Other	6	0.37	
No Answer	10	0.59	

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Table 61

Birthplace of Father-in-Law of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent
Total	4	100.00
Rural Lebanon	—	—
Urban Lebanon	1	25.00
Other Arab State	2	50.00
Europe	—	—
South America	—	—
U.S.A.	—	—
Turkey	1	25.00
Other	—	—

Table 62

Birthplace of Mother-in-Law of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent
Total	51	100.00
Rural Lebanon	10	19.61
Urban Lebanon	18	35.29
Other Arab State	10	19.61
Europe	1	1.96
South America	—	—
U.S.A.	—	—
Turkey	10	19.61
Other	—	—
No Answer	2	3.92

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12; Churchill S-5 (1962) 1964 MEI Lebanon MEI

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Table 63

Birthplace of Siblings of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	358	100.00	
Rural Lebanon	95	26.53	.023
Urban Lebanon	197	55.03	.026
Other Arab State	49	13.69	.018
Europe	—	—	
South America	1	0.28	
U.S.A.	3	0.84	
Turkey	13	3.63	

Table 64

Birthplace of Other Family Members in Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	288	100.00	
Rural Lebanon	54	18.75	.023
Urban Lebanon	168	58.33	.029
Other Arab State	42	14.58	.021
Europe	1	0.35	
South America	1	0.35	
U.S.A.	2	0.70	
Turkey	10	3.47	
Other	5	1.74	
No Answer	5	1.74	

13: Churchill S-5 (1955) 1964 ME1 Lebanon ME1

p. 48 (a)

Table 65

Birthplace of Servants of Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	595	100.00	
Rural Lebanon	347	58.32	.020
Urban Lebanon	95	15.97	.020
Other Arab State	86	14.45	.010
Europe	4	.67	
South America	—	—	
U.S.A.	—	—	
Turkey	15	2.52	
Other	1	.17	
No Answer	47	7.90	

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Table 66

Number of Children Away From Home Per Family

Number away	Number	Percent
Total	1903	100.00
One	204	10.71
Two	131	6.88
Three	73	3.84
Four or more	54	2.84
None	1441	75.72

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .025$

$v = .050$

Table 67
Length of Time at Present Address

No. of years	Number	Percent
Total	1848	100.00
Less than 1 year	180	9.74
1 - 3 years	492	26.57
4 - 6 years	274	14.83
7 - 10 years	170	9.20
More than 10 years	792	42.86

$\sigma_{\bar{x}}$ = .140
v = .018

Table 68
Previous Location of Household

Location	Number	Percent	φ
Total	1780	100.00	
Rural	148	8.20	.006
Beirut	1451	81.52	.009
Other Urban Lebanon	30	1.69	
Other Arab Country	101	5.84	.005
Other Country	48	2.75	.004

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16: Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

desperate had it not been for the other two new cultural factors which affected village life:

2. The introduction into Lebanon of Western-style educational institutions and curricula. The two main types were American Protestant and French Catholic. It was the former which exerted the stronger influence on al-Munsif. Mission schools were established in the village before the turn of the century, and many village children were sent to the American schools in Tripoli. By 1914, some villagers were themselves teaching school in al-Munsif. Protestantism itself was for the most part resisted, but the quest for secular education—in both Arabic and English—became a major concern in the village. The enthusiasm with which the villagers approached education can be accounted for in several ways. First, the literate individual has always been a person of high prestige in the Arab world. The villagers therefore recognized the fine opportunity for the improvement of personal status which was opened by the new schools. Second, they recognized that through education they would have a better chance of obtaining lucrative jobs and of thus averting the economic disaster which threatened them. Third, the American-sponsored curricula were, in part, a useful introduction to certain aspects of the culture of the West; and this brings us to the third major factor:

3. Emigration, primarily to the United States but also, to a lesser extent, to South America. It is very significant, from the cultural point of view, that the prime motive of the emigrants was not to leave their homeland forever in order to make a new life in a new country, but rather to stay temporarily in America in order to make a fortune and then return to the village to resume the old life under conditions of greater financial security. As it turned out, the majority of emigrants never did return. But the number who did, and the number of those who came and went several times before making up their minds, is often overlooked in general accounts of the emigration phenomenon. Remittances from America helped greatly to make the two decades before 1914 a prosperous time for al-Munsif. It was during this period that the very handsome houses with red tile roofs (imported from France) were built. During this period, also, some of those who did not emigrate took up nonagricultural jobs, such as school teaching, away from the village.

World War I brought a sudden halt to these developments. Owing to the Turkish blockade of Lebanon, emigration became impossible and the flood of remittances was reduced to a trickle. Toward the end of the war there was famine in al-Munsif, and it was reported that 100 persons died as a result of it. After the war, emigration and remittances were resumed. But the large-scale exodus to the United States was effectively ended by the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924, which allowed only a very small quota for the Levant. Emigration to other areas continued but also on a smaller

McCulick E-5 (1952)1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

scale. The drastic decline in the market price of silk led to greatly reduced production with a consequently increased interest in other occupations. Meanwhile, the road-building program of the French Mandatory regime, coupled with the introduction of motor vehicles, reduced the physical isolation of the village, and the interest of villagers in nonagricultural occupations away from the village was greatly augmented.

IV

Consideration can now be given to the effects of these processes of change on the traditional culture as they were observed in 1952. To anticipate for a moment, it is important to keep in mind the fact that the effects of change have not been uniform throughout the entire village culture, some aspects of which have been more altered than others. In other words, there now are striking cultural disparities in the village, whereas before there was a high degree of consistency. The result is conflict in the minds and souls of the villagers. In what follows, we shall expand, in turn, upon the four basic criteria which were used in describing the traditional culture. The problem of conflict will be considered at the end, under the heading of Localism.

Economics. The most far-reaching changes in al-Munsif, without any question, have been in the area of economic behavior. To comprehend this change, attention must be paid to age distribution and residence pattern. The population of the village in 1952 totalled 523: 258 males and 265 females. A relatively weak representation of persons in their 30's (born during and just after World War I) is to be noted. Formerly all members of the village regularly lived in it. In 1952 only 54.6 percent (286) of the people lived in it all year round, while 35.9 percent (188) regularly lived away (in Beirut or Tripoli for the most part), returning to al-Munsif only during the summer and for various special occasions. Of the remainder, 12 persons commuted on a daily or weekly basis between the village and the city, and 26, though still considered to be members of the village, visited it only on rather rare occasions. This group of 26 comprised 17 women who had married complete outsiders and 9 other persons who lived and worked in other parts of the Middle East, mostly in Iraq.

The residence factor can also be looked at in terms of households. There were 87 independent households in al-Munsif. In 22 of them all members were resident in the village all year round. In 16, no members were resident all year round; they returned as groups only in the summer. In 8 cases, the heads commuted on a daily or weekly basis while their wives and children lived in the village. In the remaining 41 cases, the personnel of each household was split; in general the head and his wife remained in the village while most of the children lived regularly in the city. In other words, a majority of the people, heavily weighted by the older age groups and those

17: Tammous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

Lebanon that it could no longer be absorbed within the country. The village folk had the choice of submitting to a life of poverty or of emigrating abroad, seeking new opportunities and fortunes. The first alternative was incompatible with their cultural heritage. They were mostly independent farm owners, not share croppers; they were awakened by a comparatively high degree of learning; they were exposed to influences of the West; and they had a long history of struggle against great odds, demanding initiative and enterprise on the part of the individual and the group.

Consequently, they resorted to emigration for relief. Some sought opportunities in the urban centers of neighboring Arab countries. They established themselves there as merchants, teachers, publishers, doctors, and as government officials in various capacities. Most of them, however, turned toward the promising New World, north and south. It is estimated that these emigrants, together with the families they have reared, now exceed in number the population resident in Lebanon itself.

Recent estimates put the population of Lebanon at 1.2 million, of whom about 75 percent are rural. There seems to be no slackening in the high rate of increase. The density of population, one of the highest in the world, amounts to about 300 per square mile of total area, and 1,200 per square mile of cultivated area. In the Middle East it is exceeded only by Egypt, which holds the world record with a density of about 2,000 per square mile of cultivated area.

This biological resource of the village community constitutes both a serious problem and a challenge to Lebanon. Emigration possibilities for the surplus population are no longer as readily available as they were prior to a decade or two ago. A realistic, long-range solution lies in the application of an enlightened population policy and developmental program that would result in controlled growth on the one hand, and in the efficient development of the country's natural resources on the other.

The second major contribution of the village community to the country is economic. This is readily apparent and needs little elaboration. Dwellers in the villages are the farming folk of Lebanon. Their agricultural activity is the mainstay of the

IT: Tannous S, C-5 (ca. 1947-48)/1949 MEI: Lebanon MEI

other business activities with the West; modern technology and means of communication; and, finally, the rise of political consciousness, culminating recently in national emancipation.

Each of these factors for change has been potent, introducing far-reaching influences in the life of the people. The educational movement has brought a rate of literacy, estimated at 70 percent, which is unequalled in any other rural area of the Middle East. The rate is even higher for the more advanced mountain region considered separately from the coastal and urban areas of Lebanon. Here we find a school in practically every village, catering to the needs of both boys and girls. From the elementary schools, village youth has flowed in increasing numbers to high schools and colleges. As a result, the horizons of the village has been widened intellectually and economically, causing the farming folk to question their way of life and to seek greater opportunities in the outside world.

As mentioned before, Lebanese emigrants, mostly from the rural areas, left in relatively large numbers to the Americas and other parts of the world. Practically every farm-family unit has one or more of its members residing abroad. Through correspondence, the press, and literature, through clubs and societies, through visits back home, and by means of the substantial sums of money sent to their families, these emigrants have contributed heavily to the [illegible] ing of its pattern.

Perhaps the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. National consciousness at present permeates rural life in Lebanon. At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities.

The village community of Lebanon is now going through a stage of rapid transition and difficult adjustment. Its traditional organization, with its institutional pillars of family, land, and religion, is being severely challenged. New ways of doing things

held only by Christians; the fourth by many of the Moslems; the fifth by those who have been moved by the nationalist sentiment without trying to make it a substitute for religious belief.

Probably the majority of French missionaries and officials in the last generation have professed the third or fourth views: that is to say, they have regarded Arabism as primarily an Islamic movement in which the Christians can have no place, and thus they have tried to make Lebanon into a place where the Christians can at least be safe and can perhaps even build up a national life of their own. Their attitude is determined partly by religious belief, partly by a sense of France's historic obligations and partly by a certain conception of French interests. As for the third party to the question, the Arab nationalists in Syria and the other Arab countries, they believe that Lebanon is a part of the Arab world and are afraid of its being used as a centre for foreign intrigues against them; but the more reasonable and responsible of them recognize the peculiar traditions and needs of Lebanon and are prepared to make special provision for them.

The problem of the Shi'is is in some ways similar to that of the Christians and Druses of the Mountain, since it arises from distinct religious loyalties complicated by a separate tradition and memories of persecution. But there is also another complicating factor: the backwardness of the Shi'is in social organization and their low standard of living. Their first need is for a reformed social organization and improved economic conditions. Once this need has been satisfied, it is possible that their outlook and feeling will be near enough to that of the Sunnis to make special treatment unnecessary.

There is one community which possesses a special relation to all the rest. The Armenians, whether Gregorians, Catholics or Protestants, have two characteristics which distinguish them from the remainder of the population of Lebanon. First, they are not Arabic-speaking, but have their own language, culture and national consciousness. Secondly, they are mainly of recent settlement there. The majority established themselves in and around Beirut in consequence of the massacres taken against them by the Turkish authorities

during and after the war of 1914-1918; and a large number entered the country even more recently, in 1939 after the cession to Turkey of the Sanjaq of Alexandretta, where many Armenian refugees from Turkey had settled. Most of the Armenians entered penniless and were dependent in the beginning upon international relief organizations, but in the last twenty years their economic situation has greatly improved. They are mainly craftsmen and small traders and almost all are now town-dwellers.

Foreign in language and appearance and socially half-isolated, they have not always been popular with the inhabitants. Some nationalists disapprove of them because they are still unassimilated and because they have added another minority problem to those already existing. Their competitors accuse them, as minorities in their position are often accused, of depressing the level of wages and of monopolizing the trades and crafts to which they have applied themselves.

These Armenians have evolved divergent conceptions of their future as a nation. There are some, mainly those who have made good, who are prepared to live permanently in Lebanon as a minority; in order to make this possible they wish the Armenians to learn Arabic, to prove themselves good citizens and to co-operate with the bulk of the population [illegible] their Armenian characteristics and loyalty. Probably the majority of the Armenians however regard their residence in Lebanon as a temporary exile, and hope sooner or later to return to their own country. Of these, the Tashnak party wish to see their country once more an independent national state, while the Communists and others accept the incorporation of Armenia in the U.S.S.R. and are eager to return and become Soviet citizens. Both these parties recognize that their exile although temporary may be long and that therefore an interim policy is necessary. Some of the Tashnak have tried to follow the example of the Maronites and throw themselves upon a foreign protector; but very many of their party, and all the Communists, desire to reach a modus vivendi with the political forces among the Arabs, either with the Arab nationalists or else with the Arab Socialists and Communists.

increase the productivity per acre and also to expand the cultivated area per head.

In the Lebanon, however, with its steep hillsides under intensive cultivation, there is a definite pressure on land resources. The limits of intensification appear to have been reached, and a large part of the village population supplements its income by work in the towns, and by remittances from abroad. If the land tenure system in Syria were less oppressive, room might be found on the land for settlers from the Lebanon, but as things are, the standard of living and status of the Lebanese peasant is higher; compared with the Syrian peasant he is a free man, and there is no inducement to leave the Mountain for the underpopulated plains of central or northern Syria.

LAND TENURE

Corresponding to these different methods of farming, there are different systems of land tenure.[1] In Lebanon individual small ownership is well established, and the pattern of village life, with its broad class of small peasant owners, few large landowners, and a growing class of landless labourers, resembles that of Europe.

In Syria, the greater part of the land is owned by city notables—the ruling class—and cultivated by small share-tenants. Though individual ownership exists in some districts, for instance [illegible] the most usual form of landownership in the plain districts of Syria is share-tenancy. The villagers bring their corn to the village threshing floor, and when the grain is threshed the landlord or his agent stands by and takes one-half of the grain. Towards this result he has contributed nothing; all labour, equipment, seeds, livestock, have been supplied by the tenant, so that his share is rent purely for the use of the land. The landlord is almost always an absentee, a city notable who only visits the land to collect rent.

The share taken by the landlord varies from district to district, and also varies with the condition of the land. According to an inquiry made by the French authorities, the usual division of the crop for non-irrigated cereals is 40–50 per cent to the

[1] The information which follows is mainly based on A. Latron, *La Vie rurale en Syrie et au Liban* (Beirut, L'Institut Français de Damas, 1936). The brilliant and profound study by Jacques Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient*, is an indispensable authority which unfortunately was received only after going to press.

Lebanon mEl

II. Lebanon

(Visited 1 - 10 December 1953)

1. The total area of Le ..non is about 4,000 square miles, the population being estimated in 1953 at one and a quarter million, of whom a high proportion live in the principal towns. For many years there has been considerable migration to foreign countries, and it is said that as many Lebanese live abroad as are to be found in their native land. 131 162 169

2. Lebanon is mainly a fruit-growing agricultural country, but pipelines from Middle East oil fields are being laid across the country to connect with newly constructed installations and harbours on the coast. In the course this development may influence the economy of the country. 241 345

3. Great hopes of agricultural expansion - to be accompanied, it is claimed, by schemes of rural community development - are based upon the Litani Dam and irrigation project. At the time of our visit this project was under discussion between the Government and the United States Technical Cooperation Administration (Point IV), but matters had not advanced sufficiently to justify our attempting to follow in detail the intentions with regard to community welfare centres. 241 435 185

4. The agency of the Lebanese Government responsible for social ffairs has only recently (1951) been raised to the status of Ministry. Until ver recently, there had been a change of government and the new Minister of Social A airs also held two other portfolios. The Director-General of the Department also had not been continuously in office over the past years. No reply had been returned by the relevant Department to the Secretary-General's request (at the end of 1951) for information on community welfare centres. Background information was difficult to obtain. A decree which would have permitted the provision of multi-purpose community centres and enabled government support to be given in cash or by way of services, had been promulgated in 1951 (Appendix I). The decree had not, however, been put into operation. The initiative in instituting or developing such multi-purpose activities as we had the opportunity of seeing at Shnaya, Anjar and Jiwaili had come mainly from voluntary agencies. 447 185

5. We visited the Shnaya Demonstration Centre and major project at the Nil and Litt of Zerqaine. The purpose of the original centre was to provide for Armenian refugees from Turkey. The Near East Foundation and the Armenian Cooperative Corporation shared responsibility for the financing and management of settlements in this area. More recently, the Near East Foundation decided to concentrate on activities in Syria and Greece and brought its work at Shnaya to a close. Mr. Feldmann of the Near East Foundation, who had had a long experience between the wars in community organization in Bulgaria before coming to Shnaya, then transferred to the Armenian Corporation. With his wife, he now supervises the various activities in a group of villages located in the Bekaa Valley between Beirut and Damascus. These activities include control of malaria, recreational programmes, organization of marketing, provision of seedlings and plants, poultry breeding, milk co-operatives and educational projects. 361 185

6. At the time of our visit an illustrated lecture by an American veterinary expert (Point IV) was in progress. The co-operative milk marketing scheme appeared to be successful and to make a useful contribution to the milk supply of Beirut. The housing provided for the settlers and the general appearance of the village at Anjar were satisfactory. That of the Arab village of Bekfaiya-Anjar was distinctly less so. In a former disused school house there was a primitive community and child 234 434 600

LEBANON ME1

Chapter 6

LEBANON

Developments to the End of the Second World War

432 439 471 167

Lebanon's high economic level, compared with other Middle Eastern countries, is largely attributable to certain factors which helped to improve economic and social conditions, 1/ from early modern times. A relatively greater degree of security in Lebanon attracted European merchants, who provided an expanding market for Lebanese raw silk; it also brought in missionaries and educators, who established modern schools. In the second half of the nineteenth century, large-scale emigration began. It is estimated that, between 1860 and 1920, some 330,000 persons emigrated from Lebanon and Syria - an average of 3,000 a year, of whom over half were from Lebanon. In 1920-24, the yearly average rose to 25,000. 2/ A large number of these emigrants returned, bringing back with them capital and skills. There was also a small capital inflow from Europe, which was invested in railways, ports and other public utilities, as well as in banks. By 1920, Beirut had become the main distributing centre for Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, northern Iraq and southern Anatolia. Another important economic item was the export of raw silk.

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During the First World War, Lebanon, which had become a food importer, experienced a large-scale famine. In addition, the silk industry was disorganized, the mulberry trees being cut down for fuel, and the transit trade was disrupted. In the inter-war period, silk suffered further, from the competition of more efficient producers and of rayon, and gradually ceased to play an important part in the economy. A still harder blow was the decline in emigration, following restrictions imposed in most countries of immigration. After reaching a peak of 26,000 in 1925, emigration from Lebanon and Syria fell off rapidly to an annual average of 2,000 in the nineteen-thirties, of whom slightly over half came from Lebanon.

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1/ Net national income in 1950 was estimated at 1,200 million Lebanese pounds (see table 431), giving a per capita figure of 71 811 per annum. [illegible] confirmation of this figure is provided by a survey in North Lebanon which showed that in 1955 per capita income in a group of villages was 12 627. This figure does not include rent, since practically all families own their [illegible] Khalaf A. Ghanem, Household Income and Expenditure in Al Kura, unpublished thesis, American University, Beirut, 1957). Converted at the average free market rate (in 1950 one United States dollar equalled 3.47 Lebanese pounds), which considerably undervalues the purchasing power of the Lebanese pound, this gives a per capita income of $231, a figure well above that prevailing in the region. Some two thirds of the Lebanese population is literate, and over 40 per cent is urban, proportions which are well above the regional level.

2/ G.F. Hourani (editor), The Economic Organization of Syria (Beirut, 1951), page 16.

Other sources of income were developed, however. Although the breakup of the Ottoman Empire and the erection of tariff barriers in the successor states handicapped Lebanon's transit trade, Beirut continued to be an important distributing centre. In this it was helped by the enlargement of its harbour and by the construction of a good network of roads. These improvements, together with the development of public utilities and hotels, attracted to Lebanon an increasing number of Middle Eastern tourists.

In agriculture, the most important development was the expansion in the acreage planted to olive and fruit trees, and the improvement in quality. The tariff protection gradually accorded after 1924 also stimulated industry. At the outbreak of the Second World War, some 20,000 persons were employed in factories and small workshops, including craftsmen engaged in such traditional seasonal occupations as silk reeling. 1/

During the Second World War, the large-scale expenditure of Allied troops raised incomes and prices, 2/ and the reduction of imports further stimulated industrial production. This increase was achieved with existing equipment, since no machinery could be imported.

Another result of the war was the improvement of communications. The forced savings due to inflation and the shift to profits took the form of frozen and sterling balances held by Lebanese individuals and institutions.

Post-war Period, 1945 to 1954

Since 1945, the national income of Lebanon has increased considerably, and available data indicate a rise in consumption. The dissolution in 1950 of the customs union 3/ with Syria, which had constituted Lebanon's most important market, caused a setback, compensated in recent years, it appears, by the over-all growth.

Emigration, which had almost ceased during the war years, recovered in the post-war period. In recent years it has averaged over 5,000 per annum, 4/ compared with an annual natural increase of about 25,000. Emigration was, however, offset by an influx of over 100,000 Palestinian Arab refugees in 1948 and 1949. The maintenance of these refugees by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees has largely shielded the Lebanese economy from their impact, though many have found employment in the country while a few [illegible].

1/ The number of industrial establishments rose from 400 in 1930 to 900 in 1945, according to Murad's Al Mamaly, "Min al hirfa ila al sinaa", in Mahadarat al Nadwa (Beirut, 1955).

2/ From 1941 to 1944 inclusive, Allied expenditure in Lebanon and Syria totalled £75 million (sterling). From 1939 to 1945 inclusive, Lebanon and Syria had a surplus of £27 million Lebanese-Syrian pounds on current account. The wholesale price index in Beirut rose from 100 in June 1939 to a peak of 1,201 in January 1945.

3/ See chapter 7.

4/ Emigration in 1951 totalled 4,077, in 1952 it was 2,725 and in 1953 it was 5,343 (Le Commerce du Levant, 9 October 1954, Beirut). A significant proportion of emigrants went to the Persian Gulf area.

tants and less than 6,000 each of Syrian Catholics, Syrian Orthodox, Chaldean Catholics and other denominations.

In 1948, the Moslem contingent, comprising about 253,000 Sunnites and 224,500 Shiites, represented slightly less than 40 per cent of the population. The Druses, a dissident sect of Islam, dating from the 11th century, numbered around 79,700. They are scattered throughout southern and central Lebanon, but about 80 per cent reside in the province of Mount Lebanon. The diverse religious communities tend to live apart, and the close proximity of villages and towns, Christian or Moslem, is a feature of Lebanese life. In addition, about 6,000 Jews reside in Beirut and other cities; the majority are of Sephardic origin, and have been settled in the country for generations.

With the exception of the Armenians, most of whom fled from Turkish territory during the first quarter of the present century, and a few thousand each of Kurds and Assyrians, there are no linguistic minority groups. Most of the inhabitants speak Arabic or a minor dialectal variation. French and English are widely used, however, by the educated Lebanese. Small foreign communities of French, Polish, Greek, American, British and other nationalities also reside in Beirut and the coastal cities.

During the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1948, Lebanon received over 100,000 Arab refugees from Palestine. In a total of 106,390 on the *roster of the United Nations Relief and* Works Agency in 1951, about 34 per cent were housed in 13 camps located in different parts of the country, while the remainder lived in the various towns and villages.

A distinctive feature of the recent history of this region is the large-scale emigration of Lebanese to the Americas, Europe and Africa, which reached a peak in the years preceding World War I. The exact number of emigrants, most of whom sought to escape the impoverishing effects of continuing congestion on the land, is not known, but some authorities estimate that it exceeds that of the resident population. Many

MANY LEBANON ME1

have retained close contact with their homeland, a factor which has had a profound influence on the social and the economic development of the country.

Unlike the neighboring Arab states, Lebanon is a compact territory. The density of population in the four administrative provinces, exclusive of Beirut district, averaged over 300 per square mile in 1948. It was 484 per square mile in Mount Lebanon, 356 in North Lebanon, and 291 in South Lebanon, but declined to 101 in the potentially fertile districts of the Bekaa. About 60 per cent of the inhabitants live under rural conditions in some 2,300 large or small villages. Urbanization has increased progressively within recent years, however, and almost one half of the population is now concentrated within easy access of Beirut. The city, which is not only the capital and the industrial metropolis of Lebanon but the principal port for the Levant states, had a population of 300,000 to 400,000 in 1950. Tripoli, the second largest city and the terminus of the pipeline from the oil fields in northern Iraq to the Mediterranean, had a population of roughly 78,000. Numerous towns in the southern and the central portions of the Lebanon range are popular resorts, with an annual influx of summer residents.

The fact that Beirut has become one of the leading cultural and educational centers of the Near East has stimulated the spread of education in the rest of the country. The literacy rate is consistently higher among the men than among the women: it probably averages from 75 to 90 per cent in Beirut and the neighboring districts of Mount Lebanon and from 40 to 60 per cent in the other provinces. The expansion of education has been influenced by the activity of French, American and other foreign groups, but the division between the different systems has hindered the development of a unified national program. Theoretically, primary education is compulsory, although the facilities are inadequate, especially in the rural areas of the south.

p. 111(A)

165 369 evade punishment by concealing the death of unregistered infants detract from the validity of the meager data available. Local pediatricians believe that the mortality rate in children up to 2 years of age averages from 25 to 30 per cent for the country as a whole. It ranges from 10 to 15 per cent, or more, in Beirut proper to from 30 to 45 per cent in Tripoli, Sidon and the towns of the interior. In the more remote villages of South Lebanon, the standards of living are uniformly low, and the mortality in children under 2 years of age probably reaches 50 to 70 per cent. Intestinal diseases are foremost among the causes of death in infancy and early childhood.

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Social Economy

241 494 167 The economy of Lebanon is based upon agriculture, but the country is in a more favorable position than the neighboring Arab states, in that the national income is augmented by an increasing tourist traffic and by remittances to their families from emigrants living abroad. Although the coastal plain and the Bekaa valley support a variety of crops, a large part of the territory is mountainous and unsuitable for cultivation. The coastal region is cultivated intensively, with a series of narrow terraces extending along the seaward slopes of the Lebanon range up to an elevation of about 3,000 feet. Little more than 20 per cent of the total land area is now under production, while less than one fifth of that is irrigated. *Considerable disparity exists between re-*cent estimates of the amount of arable land, but all agree that it can be increased materially by a greater utilization of the available water resources and by improved methods of cultivation. Programs have already been initiated for the further development of irrigation facilities, notably in the southern Bekaa, and in the 'Akkar plain, a triangular sector between the coast and the northern frontier with Syria. The tradition of private ownership is strong in the mountainous districts of the north, and most of the land is cultivated by independent farmers.

241 391 453 421

p. 112(A)

residual spraying of the village houses with insecticides, the treatment of breeding pices with larvicides, the stocking of permanent bodies of water with Gambusia fish, ad the airplane spraying of otherwise inaccessible swamps with DDT preparations. Te villages protected in this manner in 151 had an aggregate population of about 6300.

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees conducts DDT residual spraying programs in camps ad villages occupied by refugees under its jrisdiction, especially in the highly endmic coastal areas in the south and in the 'Akkar plain near the Syrian border. In September, 1951, demonstration projects we initiated by the World Health Orgnization, in conjunction with the Ministry f Public Health. The program will include ystematic surveys in partially controlled nd uncontrolled malarious areas, as the Akkar plain, the northern and the southern sections of the Bekaa, the littoral around Tyre and the more remote villages in the coastal river valleys.

Flies. Flies of the family MUSCIDAE are bundant in all parts of the country, and undoubtedly play a significant role in the spread of intestinal and eye diseases. Several species of *Musca* occur, among which *M. domestica vicina* and *M. sorbens* are most prominent. The stable fly, *Stomoxys calcitrans*, and the nonbiting variety, *Musca stabulans*, are also plentiful. Species of TABANIDAE are numerous. The myiasis-producing flies, which are serious pests for ve livestock and occasionally attack man, include *Cuterebra*, *Gasterophilus*, *Chrysomya erythrocephala* and various species of *Sarcophaga* and *Hypoderma*. The flies most frequently implicated in human myiasis are probably *Lucilia sericata* and *Wohlfahrtia magnifica*.

Several species of sandflies have been identified, including *Phlebotomus papatasi* and *P. sergenti*, vectors of cutaneous leishmaniasis in wasteland foci, and *P. chinensis* and *P. major*, suspected of being vectors in

p. IIC (8)

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1964
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tina, V. labetina xanthina and *V. palestina*, are encountered in some localities. 136 752

Rodents. The brown rat, *Rattus norvegicus*, is prevalent throughout the coastal area. *R. rattus alexandrinus* is present in small numbers in Beirut and the coast towns, but predominates in the inland villages. *R. rattus rattus* is also present. Mice are abundant under both urban and rural conditions. 136 369

Mollusks.* The fresh-water snail, *Bulinus truncatus* (— *B. contortus*), is found in a few localized areas—in the vicinity of Sidon, in the Nahr el Sanser and the irrigation ditches connected with the springs of Ras el 'Ain, near Tyre, and in the Litany River, around the Qaraoun bridge in the Bekaa. It is the intermediate host of *Schistosoma haematobium*, and, although the infection apparently is not endemic in the indigenous population, it has recently been observed among Palestinian refugees in the Tyre region. 136 164 [K-7]

Plants. Little scientific information is available, but many of the trees, the grasses and the weeds which are known to produce allergic manifestations in susceptible individuals in other countries flourish in Lebanon. 137 752

The stocks of wheat sometimes contain seeds of *Corydalis cyrtocarpa* or *Lolium temulentum*. Occasional cases of poisoning are traceable to the consumption of breads or *burghul* prepared from wheat flours thus contaminated.

The broad bean, *Vicia faba*, is widely used as a food, but it may cause toxic symptoms when eaten raw. Serious illness are relatively rare, but fatalities are reported almost annually among young children. In some cases, the chick-pea, *Lathyrus sativus*, a common fodder crop, is responsible for poisoning when it is used as a food. [K-5]

Food Establishments

The sanitary inspection of restaurants and premises where food is prepared or sold is the responsibility of the municipal health 764

* See footnote, page 10.

p. 117(a)

vention of tuberculosis, assists in the hospitalization of needy cases and administers a sanatorium at Dahr el Bashek. The Armenian Charitable Society furnishes treatment facilities for the care of Armenian patients. The Young Women's Moslem Association was established for the promotion of education among Moslem women, and since 1946 it has maintained a training school for nurses in Beirut. The Mouassat Society, an organization of Moslem women interested in infant welfare work, finances a small maternity hospital in Beirut.

The medical schools of the American University of Beirut and the Université Saint-Joseph have affiliated medical care and preventive services. The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in America supports a medical mission in Tripoli. The Near East Foundation directed a general health and rural improvement program in the Anjar villages in the Bekaa valley from 1944 to 1951, when it retired from Lebanon. It also instituted an extensive malaria control project in the Anjar and the Aramik swamp areas. The Kazgharian Corporation, in America, contributed substantially to the work of the Foundation in the Armenian villages, and provides for the maintenance of child welfare centers in Anjar and Beirut.

The Lebanese Public Health Association is prominent among the professional societies. It is concerned with the promotion of public health in Lebanon and with the dissemination of educational materials. The Lebanese Medical Association is likewise active, and publishes a journal for its membership.

Two industries maintain medical facilities for the benefit of their employees—the Iraq Petroleum Company, at Tripoli, and the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company, at Beirut and Sidon. The Iraq Petroleum Company also subsidizes a medical insurance scheme for the families of its employees. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees carries on public health programs in the various camps

and conducts malaria control operations in the vicinity of refugee centers.

Medical Institutions

Hospitals and Dispensaries. According to the official statistics for 1948, there were 73 hospitals, including sanatoria, in Lebanon. These institutions had an aggregate capacity of about 5,182 beds, or slightly less than 4.2 beds per 1,000 population. Fifty-six hospitals with a total of 2,274 beds were under private management, and 9 hospitals with a total of 2,130 beds were operated by foreign agencies. Eight hospitals, with a total of about 777 beds, were listed by the Ministry of Public Health. They consisted of provincial hospitals of approximately 120 beds each at Ba'albek (Mount Lebanon), Zahle (Bekaa), Tripoli (North Lebanon) and Sidon (South Lebanon), and 4 hospitals in Beirut; a general hospital of 320 beds, a contagious disease hospital of 50 beds, a venereal disease hospital of 45 beds and a quarantine hospital of 80 beds. The provincial hospitals at Tripoli and Sidon were not completed, however, in 1952. In addition, the government contracted for the use of 1,200 beds in private or foreign-operated institutions, so that roughly 2,000 beds were available through the Ministry.

Special facilities included with the above hospitals were a tuberculosis sanatorium of 500 beds at Khanzah, three smaller tuberculosis sanatoria of 130 to 190 beds each, a mental hospital with 300 beds at Ashrafiyeh and a chronic disease hospital and home with about 1,000 beds at Deir el Salib. All are conducted by religious or philanthropic organizations, Lebanese or foreign. The Ministry does not operate tuberculosis or mental hospitals, but subsidizes about 370 beds in private institutions for the care of tuberculous patients and 180 beds for mental cases. Within the last few years an ophthalmic hospital of 30 beds has been constructed by the government at Tebnin, in South Lebanon.

The hospitals affiliated with the medical schools of the two universities in Beirut are

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in the Bekaa they averaged less than 1 per cent.

Schistosomiasis. Schistosomiasis apparently is not endemic, but the infection has been demonstrated among Palestinian refugees living in camps near Tyre. In the examination of urine specimens from 15 boys, from 6 to 12 years of age, in a school at Tyre in 1950,[6] the eggs of *Schistosoma haematobium* were found in 47 per cent. A second series of urine samples, taken a few months later from 25 refugee boys, from 7 to 14 years of age, revealed eggs in 16 per cent. All the boys came originally from the Haifa and the Acre regions in Palestine. The infection was still localized in 1951, as shown by the fact that urine specimens from 1,000 boys enrolled in different schools in the the same camp were completely negative for *S. haematobium*.[10] No evidence of infection has been found in the course of limited surveys among Lebanese children in the vicinity of Tyre, and the disease was formerly unknown in the local population.

The intermediate snail host, *Bulinus truncatus*, inhabits streams and irrigation canals near Tyre and Sidon, and has been collected from one focus in the middle reaches of the Litany River. It is feared that the disease may become established and spread in the irrigated districts of the coastal plain between Tyre and Sidon.

Taeniasis. Three outbreaks of trichinosis have been recorded—in 1936, 1939-40 and 1941. The second outbreak occurred in Beirut district, where most of the pig farms are concentrated. The number of recognized human cases was small, but in the examination of about 1,000 pigs on several farms in the neighborhood of the slaughterhouse, 15 to 35 per cent were found to be infected with *Trichinella spiralis*. A high rate of infection was also discovered among rats trapped in the area. The mass slaughter of the pigs on the affected farms and the incineration of infected carcasses were ordered by the health authorities. In the 1941 outbreak, 34 human cases, with 3 deaths, were reported, all traceable to infected meat from

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1647 1648 demic occurred in 1942 which, according to the official statistics, involved 482 cases, with a fatality rate of 21 percent. The incidence and the severity of the disease declined the following year--41 cases were reported in 1943, with a fatality of 16 per cent. Subsequently, the prevalence was sporadic until 1948, when localized outbreaks were again observed. From 12 to 175 cases a year were reported in 1946-49, but in 1950 the incidence dropped to its normal low level. Two cases were recorded in 1950, none in 1951.

1646 1647 Diphtheria. Diphtheria is increased in prevalence within the last few years. The reported incidence averaged 9 cases a year in the period 1942-47, but since 1948 it has approximated 150 to 200 cases. Many local authorities attribute the sudden rise in the number of recognized cases part to the recent influx of refugees as tourists from other countries. The presence of a high rate 1644 of subclinical infection, with a correspond- 1751 ingly high degree of immunity in the indigenous population, is opposed by the large number of children to give a negative reaction to the Shick test at an early age. In a series of tests performed in 1949[illegible] on 1,277 children, 4 to 10 years of age, attending schools in Beirut or the immediate vicinity, 91 per cent responded with a negative reaction. Starting at 5 years of age, the proportion of positive reacts averaged 9 per cent up to 10 years of age and 7 per cent from 10 through 14 years of age. Nineteen children from 15 to 18 yrs of age were included in the series; all are negative reactions. In 1950, a program was started for the immunization against diphtheria of all children under 10 years age.

1644 Meningitis. Small localized outbreaks of meningococcus meningitis are reported almost every year. The recorded cases are normally few in number, but waves of increased prevalence are noted at irregular intervals. In the 12 years 1939-50, the incidence ranged from 12 to 32 cases a year, except in the 2 years 1944 and 1945, when it reached 251 and 101 cases, respectively.

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